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How the Free Market Can Solve the Race Problem

by Michael Levin

Everyone over the age of three knows there is a race problem in the U.S. Actually, there are race problems: fault lines separate whites from blacks in education, employment, housing, crime, demographic growth, and welfare dependence, and issues superficially unrelated to race, such as homelessness or the changing character of sports, often have a tacit racial dimension.

The first step in addressing a problem or problem-cluster is to describe it precisely, so what counts as a solution is clear. The symptoms of the race problem are all too familiar: a black unemployment rate several times the white (excluding the many black males who leave or never enter the workforce); black schoolchildren performing far behind white and Asian, and dropping out more frequently (the dropout rate for non-European Hispanics being even higher); skyrocketing black illegitimacy, with half of all female-headed black households supported by welfare; blacks, at 12% of the population, committing most of the violent crime and constituting more than half the prison population; black drug use; the seemingly inevitable decay of black neighborhoods; a huge cohort of black urban derelicts. What is the underlying disease?

Not inequality per se. Most people understand that individuals or groups have varying traits which yield varying life outcomes. They are not outraged that an opera singer earns more than the rest of us because he was born with a powerful voice. Only wrongful inequality is a problem.

Is the problem, then, that racial inequality is caused by "racism"? Again, no. Discrimination against blacks is now illegal, while preferences favoring blacks are ubiquitous. Many large cities have elected black mayors, and Martin Luther King enjoys the status of a secular saint. Movies, television, and advertising, all run by whites, carefully present blacks as intelligent, competent, and authoritative. By any measure, "racism" is less prevalent now than a half-century ago. Yet the race gap in criminal behavior, illegitimacy, and unemployment has widened in that time, and the gap in educational achievement has not narrowed.

That racial inequalities grow as discrimination declines suggests that they are due to intrinsic traits of the races.

As soon as this is said, a battle dependably erupts as to whether race differences are wholly environmental or partly genetic in origin. As I have defended "hereditarianism" elsewhere, I won't press it here. In fact, as we will see, one virtue of the market is its utter unconcern with where race differences come from. But thinking of race in

Continued on page 3

P.C. Watch

Honest Abe

A sign posted at the Lincoln Yellow Cab Co. in Springfield, Ill., has caused a predictable uproar.

"Effective immediately: do not pick up any black males unless you feel it is safe," read the notice. "If you do not feel safe with the way they look, do not pick them up. There have been too many robberies lately, and they have all been by black males."

Black city councilman Frank McNeil charged "racism!" and plans to file civil rights charges. Company manager Earl Reno said his lawyer advised him to take down the sign and put up one saying "do not pick up any suspicious-looking persons." (*Detroit Free Press*, 11/2/95)

White Man's Burden

The new black movie, *White Man's Burden*, portrays blacks as

Continued on page 2

IN THIS ISSUE

The Bosnian Earthquake 7
by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.
"Debating" Immigration 10
by L.H.R., Jr.
The Evil Prize 11
by Greg Pavlik

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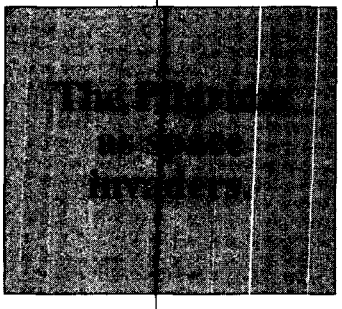
the upper class and whites as the lower. But, criticizes Rita Kempley in the *Washington Post* (12/1/95), the movie is still full of stereotypes. The upper crust—led by Harry Belafonte—is too "WASP-y" and home boys play—not "loud country tunes or beer garden polkas on their boom boxes" but rap. One effective point, according to the *Post*: a white troublemaker turns out as he did because he found no white role models on his tv.

White Man's Burden, II

Given the *New York Times*'s predilection to suppress non-P.C. news, its front-page story on black crime in South Africa was startling (12/12/95). Since Nelson Mandela took over, official crime statistics are up 75% (although the real figure is more like 300% or 400%). Violent crimes in particular are booming. Mass shootings, car jackings, armed robberies, and sexual assaults have turned formerly safe white suburbs into terror zones, and whites are fleeing the country in droves.



For those remaining, "Garden walls are topped with ever-evolving forms of razor wire" and "dinner parties have become a frenzy of horror stories.""Every house is a fortress, with burglar bars on the windows and a steel 'rape gate' separating the bedrooms from the rest of the house for extra protection." South Africa: another U.S. foreign policy success.

No Separation of Coven and State

The public schools in ritzy Bedford, New York, have banned the mention of anything Christian. But paganism and Devil-worship are, of course, a different matter. So when a few concerned parents protested such school policies as the glorification of Aztec human sacrifices, having second graders make Hindu idols and recite prayers to them, and the invocation of demons in a role-playing game called Magic: The Gathering, they were denounced and exorcised at a rally of teachers, administrators, and local liberals. Said school superintendent Bruce Dennis: the parents' complaints used "rhetoric right out of the Christian Coalition manifesto" and therefore should be dismissed (*New York Times*, 11/22/95).

Help Me Lift The Hose

The liberal city of Ann Arbor, Mich., wants to eliminate the physical fitness test from its firefighters exam, saying it discriminates against women. The Michigan State Firefighters Association is suing to block Ann Arbor, on the grounds that the action would endanger other firefighters. The test involves running 1.5 miles and dragging a 120-pound dummy up two flights of stairs. (*Chicago Tribune*, 9/8/95)

Modern Pedagogy

Plymouth Rock was missing from the Thanksgiving story that Kate Seid read her fourth-grade class at Public School 87 on Manhattan's Upper West Side (*New York Times*, 11/23/95). Instead, "there was a band of 'strange-looking people' who landed a 'big airship' in a family's backyard and proceeded to ransack their house, cut down their trees, kill their pets, and take tomatoes from their garden."

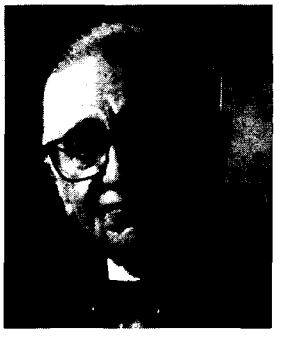
"Just as Christopher Columbus has been transformed in many classrooms from brave explorer to false hero, the Thanksgiving holiday is being reconstructed," says the *Times* approvingly.

At the end of Ms. Seid's story, the "aliens announced they were staying put and invited the bewildered homeowners to a celebratory feast." She explained that the homeowners represented the Indians and the space invaders white people.

"Here you are living in your homes with your pets, your vegetables, your trees, and your stream, and somebody comes and starts killing your pets, eating your vegetables, and cutting down your trees. I want you to think about that and how you would feel," she told the children.

Letter From the Birmingham Jail

Donald Deason, a 30-year-old white man, was driving out of a movie theater parking lot with his girl friend when a group of young black males jumped and bumped against his car, hitting it with their fists. He drew his gun and ordered them away, using—it is charged—"racially inflammatory language." He was immediately arrested and taken to the Birmingham, Ala., jail.



Dean of the Austrian School of economics, founder of modern libertarianism, and restorer of the Old Right, Murray N. Rothbard (1926-1995) was a one-man army of liberty. The *RRR* is inspired by his spirit, and dedicated to his vision.

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There, the black guards were told he was a "racist" and they put him in a cell with a particularly violent black criminal, Bobby Shearer.

Deason was acting "arrogant and cocky and bold," Shearer later testified, and so he wedged him under the toilet and over the next hour, beat him to death. Other inmates yelled for the black guards who sat just a few feet away as Deason's blood flowed out into the corridor, but for some reason, they did not hear the commotion or make their usual 30-minute rounds, instead waiting for two and a half hours.

Shearer was eventually found guilty of manslaughter, but the guards—who had ordered other beatings, according to some inmates—were found not guilty by a black jury. (*Birmingham News*, 11/19/95, and interview) ■

Continued from page 1

largely genetic terms does define the race problem, which becomes: how to minimize friction when two groups differing in intelligence, emotional intensity, and time horizons occupy the same geographical territory.

The non-market approaches of the left—civil rights, racial preference, busing, magnet schools, job training, Head Start—have failed absolutely. I suspect that even their advocates privately realize this by now, and that, when they recommend midnight basketball leagues or some other harebrained scheme, they are trying to buy time. But time runs out, leaving the real issues to be faced.

Some of the approaches of the right are equally unpromising, interventionist, or peculiar. To forestall a "custodial state," Herrnstein and Murray would simplify society so the less intelligent and self-restrained can grasp its rules and find meaningful niches. I seldom agree with Stephen Jay Gould, but he is right to call this proposal "almost grotesquely inadequate."

There has been talk, perhaps born of desperation, of separating the races, but to execute such a proposal would mean the forcible relocation of enormous numbers of people; plainly, we had better look elsewhere. There has also been talk of eugenics. Surely, however, no friend of liberty wants the state preventing anyone from having children, or dangling taxpayer money as a breeding incentive. Of course, private parties are free to bribe able individuals to have children and less able individuals to refrain, but such efforts are unlikely to work on a large scale. Anyway, as we will see, the market all by itself has welcome demographic effects.

Return to people the freedom they have surrendered over the last half-century, and let the chips fall where they may.

By default, then, if for no other reason, it is time to consider the market solution: return to people the freedom they have surrendered over the last half-century, and let the chips fall where they may.

Even without elaboration this idea has a liberating zest, since, unlike interventionist nostrums, it aims at no predetermined result. A "good" market outcome is not one in which blacks and whites each get a set portion of jobs or wealth, or live happily together, or live apart. A "good" outcome is simply one that results from individual choices, whatever that upshot turns out to be. At the same time, market theory predicts that this upshot will also be more equitable and yield greater net satisfaction than any alternative.

Right now, the most extensive limits on liberty are imposed by civil rights law. This body of statutes has made it a tort for one individual to deny another a loan, or refuse to hire him, promote him, sell him a house, rent him an apartment, or deal with him in any "public accommodation" on the basis of race (or religion or sex—but here I concentrate on race). Over time, these statutes have been stretched to cover semi-private associations as well, such as clubs, restricting free association further.

It is useful to realize that "protection from racial discrimination" is a 20th-century American idea without historical precedent. Traditionally, the rights of private parties against each other have involved criminal aggression and fulfillment of contract; any further rights enjoyed by individuals protected them against the state. English common law did require inn-keepers to accept any presentable traveler, because of the danger of highwaymen—a threat that hardly faces would-be diners seeking lunch at a restaurant whose owner does not wish to serve them. Neither the common law nor tyrants of old presumed to tell inn-keepers whom they could hire as stable boys.

It is also important to realize that civil rights laws do not fend off harm, because *discrimination as defined by these laws does no harm. A* harms *B* when *B* is worse off after something *A* has done than he was previously. But when an employer turns down a job applicant, whether on the basis of race or religion or hair style, the applicant is not made worse off. He had no job when he applied, and he has no job after his offer is rejected. Apart from a bruise to his ego, the applicant occupies the very situation he was in before he presented himself.

Likewise, a would-be tenant re-

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fused an apartment for any reason is no more in need of an apartment than he was before. The whole notion of discriminatory "victims" is confused. It is not as if anyone minding his own business can be zapped out of the blue by discriminators; you cannot suffer discrimination unless you first ask a landlord, firm, or bank for an apartment, job, or loan. Not only does discrimination leave no one worse off, virtually all discriminatory exchanges must be initiated by its "victim"—and it was once a truism that no-one can claim injury from an action of his own.

What would happen if people were (again) free to decide whom to deal with? For one thing they would *feel* free, no small thing. The suffocating sense of no escape from obsessive racial head-counting, now current, would abate. For another, letting people work and live with the company they please would end the resentment created by race-based decisions—a big part of the solution we seek. Court-ordered quotas and Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs "goals" would no longer deny whites positions, promotions, and scholarships. Whites would no longer have reason to suspect the qualifications of black coworkers, and those whites who fail to advance for mysterious reasons would not wonder whether racial factors played a role. Blacks might initially resent the loss of privilege, but the workplace (and the campus) would on balance be more harmonious.

The whole notion of discriminatory "victims" is confused.

This détente would not necessarily resegregate the workplace (which, in truth, is hardly integrated now). Many people reflexively think of repealing the Civil Rights Act as "turning back the clock" to the bad old Jim Crow days, but laws against integration are equally alien to the market. Likewise, just as the market rejects laws mandating discrimination against whites, it rejects laws forbidding it. Employers who endorse affirmative action would be free to favor blacks. Whites seeking positions with such employers would presumably share this judgment; whites who bridled would be free to seek race-blind employers, or employers who favor whites—choices that do not exist when all firms must be "equal opportunity employers."

Should affirmative action prove unprofitable, i.e. inefficient, sympathetic consumers could buy the goods and services of affirmative-action firms at higher prices. Alternatively, blacks seeking to overcome resistance or compete against better-qualified whites might accept wages below those of whites. Such bargains should leave morale intact, since whites would have nothing to resent about less-qualified blacks earning less, and blacks would have nothing to resent about better-qualified whites earning more. Displaced whites could themselves offer to work for less.

The labor market, in short, is race-neutral. By indulging all racial preferences without siding with any, it permits everyone to find a position in which he is most comfortable, at least as far as race goes. It asks no embarrassing questions about the origin of group traits, and it does not require that every group bring the same traits to the marketplace. However, the market provides no guarantee that every trait will be valued equally. Neither the market nor the government can make labor more valuable than it is—nothing can do that—but there is one impediment the government can remove to less productive labor being paid what it is worth, and that is the minimum wage.

The basic objection to the minimum wage, that it forbids voluntary bargains otherwise likely to be struck, is unrelated to race. But the minimum wage also exacerbates unemployment among the young and unskilled, since employers will hire labor at $4.35/hr (the current minimum) only if it is worth that much, and that, as many economists have pointed out, is a point of contact with race. Because the labor of so many blacks is of little value to potential employers, the only jobs these blacks can hope to get pay less than the minimum. Insisting that employers pay them more insures that they will not be hired at all.

A minimum wage supposedly protects workers' dignity and fends off exploitation, but it is surely better to earn two dollars per hour sweeping a floor than no dollars per hour doing nothing. Like many people, I worked during high school and college at a number of menial jobs, which I never viewed as undignified because nobody told me they were. I was more than happy to be making some money. The "dignity" argument only encourages the idea, prevalent among young black males, that "dead-end" jobs are beneath them, and that the only good jobs are those that pay well for very little work. Needless to say, such jobs exist only in the imagination.

An actual disincentive to black workforce participation is welfare, the abolition of which is also part of the market approach. Opposition to welfare, like opposition to the minimum wage, is rooted in an ethos of liberty and is unrelated to race per se. People should not be forced to support strangers. However, 42% of recipients of Aid to Families With Dependent Children are black; black women are more than eight times more likely than white to get some form of public assistance. These

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facts give the welfare issue an unavoidable racial spin.

The benefits of abolishing welfare flow from a single axiom: if you know that no-one will avert the consequences of your actions, if what becomes of you is up to you, you will be more cautious than otherwise. Specifically, awareness of the possible consequences of premarital intercourse—a baby to care for with no husband to help—has in the past led women to decline. (There is no point telling men to refrain from premarital sex when the opportunity is offered; they won't listen. Sexual morality rests with women.)

AFDC and related programs changed these rules. Now that the taxpayer will foot the bill, having illegitimate babies is no longer imprudent, and it can hardly be a coincidence that black illegitimacy began its rise when welfare was liberalized during the 1960s. The *New York Times* runs articles almost weekly denying any connection between illegitimacy and welfare, but the research cited (when any) is vitiated by its restricted range. Illegitimacy may well hold constant when the value of a welfare check fluctuates by 5%; it does not follow, and it defies common sense, that illegitimacy would hold constant were welfare eliminated.

Welfare causes other problems. Disproportionately many illegitimate boys become criminals, whether because they lack the guiding hand of a father or because they inherit a tendency to recklessness from their patently reckless parents. Welfare is thus implicated in crime insofar as it encourages illegitimacy, but it many also foster crime in its own right, by accustoming recipients to their having an unconditional right to what they want. A boy unfamiliar with working and saving for things will not know why he isn't entitled to take whatever he fancies, by force if necessary.

Welfare also plays an unacknowledged role in drug use. People who have limited funds that they must labor for are not apt to spend money they do have on narcotics. On the other hand, people who get money effortlessly spend it heedlessly. It doesn't matter that welfare "pays" less than a good job; a welfare mother will give less thought to where she directs each dollar than a wage earner. That same mother, had she worked for that dollar, and if she knew there would be no food stamps to bail her out were she to spend it unwisely, would think much longer before buying crack, and keep a sharper eye on her children's purchases. Drug use would be much reduced if anyone who wanted drugs had to pay for them from his own pocket.

Opposition to welfare, like opposition to the minimum wage, is rooted in an ethos of liberty.

For the same reason, ending welfare might improve popular culture. Many objectionable trends—baggy pants, brand-name jeans and running shoes as fashion statements, rap music—emerge from "urban youth." Relative to population size the largest movie audience are young black males, who prefer action films—i.e. violent, incoherent rubbish. These trends are not market-driven, since the funds that support them are coercively collected from taxpayers. The market imposes discipline, and while its discipline can stretch short time horizons only so far, poor adults who must secure housing and food on their own are not apt to let their children buy $125 Nikes or tickets to rap concerts.

To repeat: the problems created by welfare are not intrinsically racial, but it has acquired a racial dimension because of the responsiveness of blacks to its incentives. The black illegitimacy rate, at 70%, is five times the white. (White illegitimacy is accelerating faster than black only because the black rate cannot increase much more.) And not only would such vexatious behaviors diminish if unsubsidized, ending subsidies would in the longer run induce welcome demographic change.

Poor husband material once had trouble reproducing. Women chose only likely breadwinners as mates, thereby selecting for breadwinning qualities like intelligence, reliability, and self-restraint. Improvident women were likewise at a disadvantage. Evolutionary theory predicts that supporting women no matter what mates they choose makes bad-breadwinner genes less unattractive, hence more fit and apt to spread; the state of the black slums does nothing to refute this prediction. Removing this support will reintroduce selection for breadwinning traits—eugenics without force, bribery, or "genocide."

The great practical objection to going cold turkey on welfare are the hundreds of thousands of slum inhabitants now incapable of supporting themselves. The modest changes proposed by the current Congress, chiefly the shell-game of block grants that Todd Seavey calls "decentralizing the deck chairs on the Titanic," has provoked warnings (or are they threats?) of rioting. How can mass starvation be avoided? One way is to grandfather in current AFDC recipients. A coordinate tactic would be to phase out welfare by 10% annually for a decade. Both plans would give everyone ample but not unlimited time to prepare. Retention of the minimum wage will thwart any reasonable transition, by denying people with few skills and doubtful work habits the chance to scrape by. Bear in mind, though, that

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reliance on the public treasury has become so entrenched that some pain may be inevitable.

At the same time that the workplace is being liberated, market theory calls for repeal of "equal housing" laws and the end of subsidized housing and rent control. Once again the basic argument is race-neutral—the right of people to live where and with whom they please—but once again this right has obvious implications in American society.

Whites who prefer living among other whites would be so allowed. Exclusionary contracts would again be valid, so that any group wishing to keep its neighborhood ethnically homogeneous could do so. In many cases the invisible hand of economics would obviate the need for conscious measures. With the government no longer housing the poor (and predominantly black) where they could not afford to live on their own, "scatter-siting" the poor among the middle-class, pressuring banks to provide mortgages to uncreditworthy blacks, or forbidding rents that the affluent would be willing to pay, white neighborhoods would remain homogeneous for want of blacks able to buy their way in. (Conversely, landlords earning high profits from luxury rentals could afford to build much cheaper housing for the poor.)

At the same time, blacks and whites who wanted to live in integrated neighborhoods would also be free to do so; whites strongly committed to having black neighbors might sell or rent to blacks at lower prices than they could get from whites, or offer other financial help. Alternatively, blacks eager to live in white neighborhoods might offer to buy housing at higher than the going rates. In the end, extensive de facto segregation would almost certainly result—or rather continue, since immense government pressure has not led to integration, and blacks seem to prefer the company of their own race as much as whites do.

At the same time that the workplace is being liberated, market theory calls for repeal of "equal housing"

Repeal of open housing laws would also do much to resolve the much-agonized-over "crisis in American education."

A corollary of the right to live with whom one pleases is the right to send one's children to what schools, with what racial make-up, one pleases. This freedom can be implemented in two ways. Ideally, a market-based society would dispense with public schools; people would buy education for their children just as they buy other services. If on the other hand public education were to continue, it would be understood that each locality had complete control over its schools, funding them from its own taxes and determining which if any children from elsewhere would be admitted.

Individuals would decide what comprises a locality, with localities merging and splitting as they wished. Since within any small group there is a good chance of near-consensus on educational policy, if not day-to-day decisions, locally controlled public schools approximate a private system.

Tax-funded vouchers would play no part in either a private or private/public system. The competition between schools they supposedly foster occurs spontaneously in the education market, where school choices are made by parents putting their tuition where their preferences are. No-one gains access to schools he cannot afford courtesy of the taxpayer.

Once again, the basic argument for freedom of educational association is race-neutral, but the issue takes on a racial cast because of the unfortunate but undeniable link between black enrollment and school quality. When the number of blacks in a school exceeds a certain minimum, personal violence increases, academic performance plummets, and standards themselves are dropped as educators adjust to accommodate lower student abilities.

Performance on objective tests is highest in mostly white states, declining as the proportion of black population increases. Parents sense this: when they speak of moving to the suburbs "where the schools are still good," they mean, and everyone knows they mean, "where the schools are still white." When parents say their concern is not race but "class," or "school quality," do not believe them: their concern is race.

For this reason, most whites would probably send their children to more orderly, more demanding mostly or all-white schools. I would predict that expressions of anxiety about American education would suddenly abate, and the performance of (white) American children on objective tests would improve.

Blacks too could arrange whatever sort of schooling they preferred, excluding or inviting whites. While racially exclusive private schools would be permitted, public school segregation would be undesirable and unnecessary. As neighborhoods tend to be composed of people with similar outlooks, levels of wealth and ethnic preferences, and would be more so in a free housing market, the public schools available to whites would *be* mostly white. The invisible hand plus liberty would again do all the work. Whites who preferred integrated schools would live in integrated neighborhoods, perhaps lending

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blacks financial assistance to maintain integration, or, in case of too few local blacks, financing the transportation of black children from elsewhere.

As for black children in black neighborhoods, those black parents who wish a certain level of education for their children will work to attain it. If black parents do *not* create schools the average white would consider satisfactory, one can only conclude that the will or the ability is absent. Note well that no *injustice* is done when people who have more money spend it on their children; affluent whites buying better schooling take nothing away from blacks. A predominantly black school with old lab equipment would not suddenly become modernized if every suburban school with brand new equipment suddenly vanished. School quality—like that of housing, goods, and life itself—is relative. Under a market system, black schools in the U.S. are likely to be less attractive than white schools; they are also likely to be *more* attractive than schools in Africa. It is meaningless to call them good or bad absolutely.

Allowing everyone to live and work where and with whom he pleases (in both senses of "please") promises to decrease rather than increase racial antagonism. Liberals seem to imagine that racial separation leads to misunderstanding, suspicion, and hatred. Contrary to liberal fantasies, whites are not only not obsessed with grinding blacks down, whites would not think that much about blacks one way or the other were they not forced to by a network of racial laws that binds them at every turn. Left to themselves, whites and blacks have more immediate things to worry about than racial supremacy.

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The Bosnian Earthquake

by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

What a magnificent moment to be alive. The American right is returning to its "isolationist" roots—and defying the New York-Washington-neocon elites at every turn. This isn't some tiny resistance movement. The anti-war sentiment is nearly universal, and it scares the dickens out of our rulers.

In a brilliant tactical move, the House freshmen sent this letter to the president, signed by nearly of all the members: "Mr. President: We urge you not to send ground troops to Bosnia." In one sentence, it captured the mood and opinion of the American people.

Are the elites fated to face this level of resistance with every future intervention? Is this paleo dream, in which all manner of militarism is resisted by a passionately pro-peace public, coming true? We can only hope, pray, and work to make it so.

The American people—and nearly all conservative Republicans—said: no way.

It wasn't supposed to happen this way. President Clinton gave a speech announcing that he wants to go to war (excuse me, go to peace) in Bosnia. The media trumpeted the cause to the skies. Every major media outlet endorsed it. Past presidents lined up in its favor. The Congressional leadership said okay. European governments cheered. Foreign-policy experts said it's the right thing to do.

And? The American people—and nearly all conservative Republicans—said: no way. As the days passed, no polls appeared. But the media reported with horror that the opposition to the Bosnian intervention was growing, in Congress and among the American people. What was going on?

This might have been the first year in many that the U.S. didn't send its troops to war. After the Cold War, it was Panama, Iraq, Somalia, Macedonia, and Haiti. Then Mr. Clinton said we must "secure peace" among Balkan groups most Americans know little about. So much for one year of normalcy.

Even the facile Bill Clinton couldn't come up with one compelling reason for his intervention. So Americans began to look for a deeper reason he's caught the War Fever: the sorry state of the domestic economy, the disastrous state of the country, and his declining political prospects. The conclusion is obvious. He was going to war to help himself—he thought.

Let's look at what causes a president to undertake war at all. A fascinating article in the September 1995 *American Economic Review* links bad economic times with the tendency to send the troops. The authors (economists Gregory Hess and Athanasios Orphanides) set up a model to test. They assume that an incumbent president has the incentive "to exercise the war option" when "facing poor reelection prospects due to the revelation of his incompetency in handling domestic economic affairs."

The model further assumes that even though a war may be unwinnable, the incumbent leader thinks he can gain some political advantage by displaying "good war-handling ability" and so-called decisiveness. For the model to work, we have to

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see a consistent pattern that links poor economic performance, war decisions, and the election cycle. The authors choose the period between 1897 and 1988, and here are the study's astounding conclusions:

"We estimate that, when the president cannot seek reelection or the economy is not in a recession, the probability of war initiation in a year is about 30 percent. By contrast, the probability significantly increases to over 60 percent when both the economy is doing poorly *and* the president is up for reelection."

Fits like a glove. Mr. Clinton may protest that this isn't a war. But the authors define war in the old-fashioned, non-Orwellian way: "an international crisis in which the United States is involved in direct military activity that results in violence."

By refusing to back Mr. Clinton's Bosnia policy, conservatives have sided with the cause of freedom.

As the study predicts, Mr. Clinton is willing to have the American people incur the costs of war if *his* expected benefits are large enough. How can this be stopped? The authors suggest "decentralizing war decisions rather than concentrating them in the hands of a single individual." As the authors note, this is exactly what the Framers attempted to do in the Constitution.

That means it's up to Congress to say no. It may now be traditional for the president to use war to distract the people from hard times and his own failures, but it's morally wrong and unconstitutional besides.

An econometric model can reveal interesting links, but it can't account for all the variables. The most important one in the Bosnian standoff is the dramatic change in public opinion since the collapse of the Cold War, to the horror of George Bush and the rest of the ruling elites. Popular opinion, as they feared, is now squarely against foreign meddling.

The last president to benefit from war was Mr. Bush, but his status as a war hero was short-lived. Every international conflict the U.S. has entered since has meant flat or declining poll numbers. And when our young people are killed, posturing about "America's global responsibilities" means nothing.

As with the Gulf War, it's the paleo right that is leading the opposition to the Bosnian intervention. Conservatives fought the Cold War, but now they have drawn the line. Listen to the House and the radio talk shows. The message is: American lives and liberty will no longer be sacrificed for liberal imperialism. Here is a return of a consistently pro-liberty position in favor of freedom at home and no entanglements abroad.

This may be the most significant political development in decades. For that long, conservative opinion tolerated a bigger government than they should have in the name of fighting communism. But now even mainstream Republicans are beginning to understand that reckless foreign adventures doom any chance of domestic reform.

In war, the government is able to command a high domestic profile. The budget goes up. The president is subjected to less scrutiny. He is able to claim that heavy criticism of him injures the war effort. He is able to demonize his opponents as enemies of the national interest.

All this is unavoidable in war, and it's why big government and empire go together. History gives us a choice. Mingle in overseas affairs and suffer austerity at home. Or mind our own business and be free. By refusing to back Mr. Clinton's Bosnia policy, conservatives have sided with the cause of freedom.

Yet even the most optimistic among us couldn't have predicted the extent of the mass resistance that Mr. Clinton's policy has generated. Part of the White Houses's difficulties lie in the nature of the conflict itself. U.S. troops are going to Bosnia-Herzegovina to put a Muslim boot on the necks of resisting Christians. It's coercion at best and genocide at worst. It's only "peace" by the standard that makes Mr. Clinton's high taxes "contributions" and his government spending "investment."

Mr. Clinton says that the presidents of "Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia all asked us to participate." But there is no "Bosnian" nation, only the Serbian Muslims the White House calls the "Bosnian government." Serbia proper has essentially nothing to do with the dispute. Certainly its president had no business negotiating on behalf of the independent Bosnian Serbs, who were shown the "peace" agreement only minutes before they were forced to agree to it.

In generating the appropriate war-propaganda model, the White House faced a choice. They could demonize the enemy Serbs living in and around Sarajevo, hold up their leaders as war criminals, say they were strangling babies in cribs, raping and pillaging, setting up concentration camps, etc. In short, the White House could have done to the Serbs what prior presidents did to Hussein, Noriega, and Khadafi. That is, it could have used the "He's Just Like Hitler!" model of war propaganda, and hoped the public would begin screaming for a pound of foreign flesh.

That model is radically different from the Peace at Last model of foreign meddling that Clinton prefers, as in Israel-Palestine, Britain-Ireland, and now Bosnia-Serbia-Croatia. He likes to be seen as a

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reconciler of peoples. Trouble is, that is a shaky political foundation for sending troops off to battle.

Moreover, the New Hitler model and the Peace At Last model of political propaganda are mutually exclusive, and now the administration finds itself in the odd position of entering a war (whoops, a peace) without a clearly defined enemy (they claim to like the Serbs as much as anyone), and no clear objective of what these troops are there to enforce.

Lacking a demonic enemy, it was unusually easy for people to oppose this mission, while not being accused of supporting the new Hitler. The issue became: why should the U.S. be meddling in a place half-way around the globe? Talk radio callers pointed out that they wouldn't want Nato intervening in our ethnic conflicts either. (Is the idea absurd? Under present U.S. doctrine, for example, when a black man firebombed Freddie's Fashion Mart in Harlem for racial reasons, killing seven people, why isn't this a job for the Nato peacekeepers?)

And if anyone doubts that war is used to distract from troubles and tyrannies at home, consider the history of the U.S. at war in this century. We fought for "democracy" in the first world war, even while our own society was falling under the rule of a Washington-based oligarchy of tax collectors and central bankers.

Then we fought against fascism even as we set up industrial central planning and a militarized economy at home. Then we fought against communism as egalitarianism and collectivism became the dominant public ideology.

And what about after the Cold War? Somalia and Haiti were both ethnic conflicts, and Bosnia combines religious and ethnic warfare. What does it say about our present troubles at home that we have chosen this sort of conflict to keep the military and the military-industrial complex busy now?

After all this, the world seems to be conforming to the paleo image on Bosnia. But a terrible danger also presents itself. The war may begin to garner more support as it picks up. Many conservatives objected to George Bush's Gulf War, for example, but once the troops hit the ground, they agreed that all criticism should cease. If that happens this time, Bill Clinton wins the day.

The anti-war sentiment on the American right must continue throughout this entire ordeal. The president and his media backers should not be allowed to silence principled opponents.

But don't we have to support our troops? Of course: by saving their lives and bringing them home. In fact, the rank and file in the military opposes this mission as much as the average Republican. Most entered the military out of a sense of patriotism. But there's nothing patriotic about a preserving a "unified Sarajevo." Certainly a Clintonian deal for a Muslim-dominated Bosnia is not worth dying for.

The anti-war sentiment on the American right must continue throughout this entire ordeal.

Some people say that U.S. credibility is on the line. If that's true, it doesn't make the case for sending the troops. It suggests that White House negotiators never should have put U.S. credibility on the line. Besides, after the disasters of Somalia and Haiti, you have to wonder if there is any credibility left to U.S. foreign policy at all.

Right now, the resistance to Bosnia is specific to this issue and time. But paleos have a responsibility to educate the people about how the Framers structured the Constitution to keep us out of foreign wars. They wanted to prevent the president from going to war without full Congressional approval. The Framers warned again and again against foreign entanglements, knowing that military adventures doom a republican form of government.

Bill Clinton, in his Oval Office address, effectively repudiated this tradition. He suggested that the U.S. should be forever mixed up in Europe's affairs—a reverse Monroe Doctrine. James Monroe said that Europe's military should stay out of this hemisphere. In return, we would stay out of theirs.

That's the American tradition, but present practice fails to live up to it. What American didn't cringe with the news that three U.S. soldiers beat and raped a 12-year girl in Okinawa? There has always been a high crime rate by some elements of U.S. forces overseas. It could be covered up during the Cold War but no longer.

Why are we spending billions to occupy Japan this long after the war? Certainly we are not protecting the country, except from standing on its own two feet. That's why the bases should be closed, the American troops brought home, and that portion of the federal budget zeroed out.

The elites are worried. It's not only the future of the rotten Bosnian mission that is at stake. It's also the whole of the U.S. government project. Will our military be the enforcement arm of the New World Order? Or will we return to our historic role as a beacon of liberty to the world?

The Senate voted to support Clinton, for which Bob Dole should never be forgiven. The House voted not to, showing once again why that body—the closest to the people—must be the focus of our political hopes on the national scene.

As these pages predicted, the Colin Powell conservatives at the

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Weekly Standard are on the side of the New World Order. A recent issue ran no less than six articles on the glories of Mr. Clinton's Bosnia policy. The lead editorial warned that the Serbs should know "we will kick their skulls in" if they don't obey. What kind of characters conjure up a murderous hope against a people who have never done us any wrong?

There there's Norman Podhoretz, who began his article with this implausible claim: "to my own surprise—maybe amazement would be a better word—I find myself siding with Bill Clinton on the issue of sending American troops to Bosnia." It is to our surprise—maybe even amazement—that Mr. Podhoretz can continue to pass himself off as a conservative at all.

You wonder whether we shouldn't wear the badge of "isolationism" with honor.

In the days after Mr. Clinton's Bosnia speech, the *New York Times* reported a conservative shift in favor of the war, but the only evidence was the writing in the *Standard*. But this turned out to be further evidence that the *Standard* is out-of-step with conservatives on most every issue. It makes you wonder how long they can continue pretending to represent the right.

The *Wall Street Journal*—the daily standard—also showed its neocon hand. "What we're mostly hearing from Republicans are rumbles of head-in-the-sand isolationism." Anything else? Also "beer-belly isolationism." Anything else? Also "hell-no-we-won't-go isolationism." Trouble is, they are tossing around accusations that turn out to apply to about 80% of the public.

At some point, you wonder whether we shouldn't wear the badge of "isolationism" with honor. The war lovers first used it against the right in the run-up to the war against Spain. But maybe it doesn't work anymore. The idea of "isolating" ourselves from mayhem around the world doesn't sound so bad. Maybe that's why they've started adding silly adjectives to the word. What will be the next one? My prediction: "just-like-Hitler isolationism," although Adolf's foreign policy had a lot more in common with the neocons' than the genuine right's.

There are no threats to our national interests overseas. To put it in terms the American people have adopted, we have too many troubles here at home to be worried about other people's fights in foreign lands. What we need now is liberty, normalcy, real borders, and states rights, not foreign wars.

And if the little editors of Washington weeklies want to kick in the skulls of Serbs, let them buy a plane ticket and try. My guess is that the Serbs could take care of themselves.

Mr. Rockwell is editor of the RRR.

"Debating" Immigration

by L.H.R., Jr.

In one year's time, the center of the immigration debate has shifted dramatically to the right. The people who favor open borders—faced with an amazing barrage of counter arguments and an impressive literature calling for a moratorium—are getting increasingly desperate.

The *Wall Street Journal* (Nov. 27, 1995) ran nearly a full-page of small statements purporting to give both points of view. It opens with three pro-immigration articles. Jack Kemp (who approves of welfare for immigrants), Ed Koch (so the rest of the country can look like New York?), and Stephen Legomsky (who calls open borders "the quintessential American value").

You have to go to the bottom of the page to find Peter Brimelow's spatially buried but still brilliant contribution. It's split in half, so the reader's eyes have to shoot up 20 inches to see the second half. But his content is, as usual, great. "At the turn of the century," he writes, "40% of all immigrants went home, basically because they failed in the work force. Now immigrants are significantly into welfare...and net immigration is some 90%."

Also weighing in on the pro-immigration side, as the kicker to this "debate," is Dr. Ruth Westheimer, the sex therapist who has scandalized Americans for more than a decade by promoting promiscuity, abortion, and sex toys in the name of science. Her scholarly persona and dwarfish stature make it possible for her to be on national television and say things the networks wouldn't usually allow.

It turns out, she likes open borders with her open sex. "If we try to keep new immigrants from joining us," she announces, "we will only be cutting off our collective nose to spite our selfish face." Come again?

Isn't the *Journal* the paper that makes fun of Hollywood types for testifying about the Rain Forest? Why should a raunchy pseudo-scientist have any influence on the country's immigration policy? When the debate comes down to Westheimer vs. Brimelow, things really *are* going our way.

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The Evil Prize

by Greg Pavlik

The Nobel Prize Committee blunders from disgrace to disgrace. Yet somehow the press has maintained the image of the peace prize as a serious award for moral fortitude. This in itself is an irony. To take one example: how can a "peace" prize be awarded to Rockefeller-shill Henry Kissinger—an inveterate interventionist, Vietnam war hawk, and general archetype for amoral power politics?

Although the committee may not have outdone itself this time, it came pretty close. This year's recipient of the Nobel peace prize is Joseph Rotblat, whose enthusiasm for nuclear disarmament has an interesting beginning.

Rotblat is a physicist born in Poland who currently resides in England. Although officially ineligible for work on the development of the atomic bomb (U.S. or British citizenship was required), he managed to get involved in the secretive Manhattan Project. Then, eight months before the bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, he resigned.

The Manhattan Project grew out of an exchange of letters between Albert Einstein and President Roosevelt in 1939. At Einstein's suggestion, Roosevelt set up a commission, which eventually developed into a massive effort to construct an atomic weapon. Einstein's letter is instructive. He indicates that the United States should pursue the atomic bomb in response to possible German efforts to develop a similar device.

That is, the original arms race was initiated under the recommendation of the "pacifist" scientist who so vocally deplored the "arms race" and the entire concept of nuclear weaponry when confronted with the Soviet Union. It seems clear that a selective application of principle was at work early on. Einstein, perhaps America's most beloved communist, was fully in favor of (at a minimum) atomic diplomacy against Germany.

And it seems that many of the scientists involved with the development of the bomb shared his pro-Soviet and Germanophobic tendencies. The high level KGB operator Pavel Sudaplatov, in his 1995 book *Special Tasks*, leaves little doubt that the Manhattan Project was riddled with domestic traitors—the outcome of which was the development of the Soviet nuclear arsenal. The Sudaplatov book was the subject of some controversy, although recent FBI releases leave little doubt as to the general veracity of his account (see, for example, "Wartime Soviet Ciphers Finger Oppenheimer, Too" by Eric Breindel in the July 27, 1995, *New York Post*).

Roosevelt, whose domestic program emulated the Axis powers, was profusely pro-Soviet in foreign policy.

Oppenheimer's pro-Soviet disposition could not have developed apart from the general climate of pro-Soviet opinion promulgated from the power centers in America. Roosevelt, whose domestic program emulated the Axis powers, was profusely pro-Soviet in foreign policy. In many ways, the seemingly unfathomable sympathies to the murderous Communist regime were symptomatic of the propaganda of the time. Oppenheimer wasn't so much an aberration, but instead a man who took the Roosevelt administration's pro-Soviet line seriously.

The Sudaplatov account reveals that "the most vital information for developing the first Soviet atomic bomb came from scientists engaged in the Manhattan Project to build the American atomic bomb—Robert Oppenheimer, Enrico Fermi, and Leo Szilard." The details are astonishing. Oppenheimer might as well have been a paid agent of the NKVD. There is no doubt that without his leaks and placement of moles (notable among them, the German communist Klaus Fuchs, later convicted on charges of espionage) throughout the Manhattan Project, the Soviet Union could never have developed the bomb by 1949.

Sudaplatov explains that "Oppenheimer, the son of a German-Jewish immigrant, was deeply moved by the information that a secure place for the Jews in the Soviet Union was guaranteed." He was also curious about "Stalin's plan to set up a Jewish autonomous republic in the Crimea after the war was won against fascism."

Gen. Leslie Groves, who was ultimately responsible for the top administrative aspects of the Manhattan Project, believed that Leo Szilard, despite his ground-breaking

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work in nuclear reactions, should have been removed from the Manhattan Project and jailed for the remainder of the war. He was overruled.

The degree to which this attitude penetrated to the highest levels in the Roosevelt administration is disconcerting. The Danish physicist Neils Bohr approached Roosevelt with the suggestion that we share all results of the Manhattan project with the Russians.

It's not just that a few of the top scientists were sympathetic to the Soviets. Virtually all of them were. And the same goes for many of the lower-profile figures. The Manhattan Project was really the Moscow Project.

Once the general climate surrounding the Manhattan Project is understood, Rotblat's involvement with—and resignation from—the Project takes on a new light. According to the *New York Times*, "Mr. Rotblat said that he had moral reservations about working on the atomic bomb, but that he put them aside, convinced that building one before Germany was critical to the survival of civilization. Mr. Rotblat later wrote about how he started to become disillusioned with the program in March 1944 when its director, Gen. Leslie Groves, told him that the real purpose of the bomb would be to counter the Soviet Union." Months later Rotblat resigned, presumably under the influence that the Soviet Union was the last, best hope for civilization.

There's a provocative question that hasn't been asked (and officially *can't* be asked): was Rotblat himself a spy? His sudden resignation could well have been over security concerns. After all, U.S. counterespionage was shifting from the Germans to the Soviets at precisely the time that Rotblat resigned. Open the records! It's high time the public got a look at the truth that's been hidden for fifty years.

Joe McCarthy, by the way, appears to have gotten a bad rap. After all, charges of treason inside the Manhattan Project were true. High-level communist infiltration in the American bureaucracies was a fact of life. Not that McCarthy shouldn't be criticized: he vastly underestimated the extent of the problem. That is, the real problem with McCarthyism —a creed shared by John Flynn, Charles Tansill, and others on the Old Right—was that it only touched on the tip of the iceberg.

There's also another telling aspect of the Manhattan Project legacy: it brings to the light of day the symbiotic relationship between liberals and fellow-travelers. Liberals couldn't sympathize enough after Oppen-heimer's security clearance was revoked; yet it's clear that the Oppenheimer's moral grand-standing was so much bunk. By the sixties, Oppenheimer was totally rehabilitated. In a grand and ironic gesture, he received the Atomic Energy Commission's prestigious Enrico Fermi Award.

To return to Rotblat: at the very least, he falls into the pattern demonstrated by many of the scientists involved with the Manhattan Project: enthusiasm over the possibility of dropping a nuclear weapon into the heart of Europe; heartfelt concern for the Soviet state.

Every suggestion put forward by these fellows in favor of unilateral disarmament reeks of hypocrisy. If the threat of nuclear weapons was so horrifying to these humanitarians, why did they suggest the development of the bomb, dedicate their lives to the perfection of the bomb, and withdraw their support only after the Soviet Union appeared to be threatened by the bomb?

This selective application of morality is itself immoral. What use is an atomic weapon, but for massive destruction of human life and civilization? These men don't deserve to be considered moral visionaries. They deserve to be called immoral monsters.■

Mr. Pavlik is assistant editor of The Freeman.

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- Dr. Thomas Fleming of *Chronicles* on the virtues of vigilantism;
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